
RELIGIOUS IDENTITY AS THE STATE'S TOOL IN MODIFICATION OF PUBLIC SPACE AND ITS IDENTITY: THE YUGOSLAVIAN CONCEPT OF THE TWO SQUARES IN MARIBOR

S a r a H a j d i n a c

Introduction¹

Designing public spaces is closely connected to the preservation of memory and identity of a place. Psychologist Jane Kroger described identity as the subjective impression of continuity of various places and social positions over time.² Sociologist Jean-Paul Codol understood identity mainly in terms of relations between different identities,³ to which architect Christian Norberg-Schulz added a connection to space, grounding the notion in people's identification, which depends on the

¹ This paper is the culmination of several years of research on the topic and derived from my BA thesis under the guidance of Assoc. Prof. Franci Lazarini, PhD, whom I thank for his mentorship and support.

² Jane Kroger, *Identity Development: Adolescence through Adulthood* (Newbury Park: Sage, 2000), 7.

³ Jean-Paul Codol, "Social differentiation and non – differentiation," in *The Social Dimension, European Developments in Social Psychology, Volume 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 315–323.

place in which they live.⁴ It has been pointed out that the word ‘identity’ holds a special meaning in public space, as it indicates a special meaning relation between a place and its contexts,⁵ while a place becomes a differentiated space only when people become familiar with it better and give it meaning.⁶

Individual and collective memory were discussed primarily by Maurice Halbwachs,⁷ who argued that different collectives are defined by the narratives from their pasts that best suit them. When a collective changes, its *stories* – and with them, its identity – change as well. Nevertheless, Halbwachs did not understand the concept of collective memory as national memory but rather as social (collective) and historical memory that build (social) identity, i.e. memories of different groups of people that build their identities.⁸ However, this theory can certainly be applied to the study of public space (as every collective *memory* occurs within a spatial frame) as building blocks of collective memory, or the state as the entity that creates official memory. On a visual level, public space is most easily determined by public sculptures or architecture, which usually serves as an indicator of history of a certain place and the group of people that coexist within it. In his work *The Collective Memory*, Halbwachs does not directly engage with the question of the influence of social change on place, yet his ideas can be used to understand the connection between social changes and place. Given that memories and collective memory seem to be closely tied to social groups, we can presume that social changes are reflected in place

⁴ Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture* (New York: Razzoli, 1980), 21–22.

⁵ Joel Goldstein, Cecil Elliot, *Designing America: Creating Urban Identity* (New York: van Nostrand Reinhold, 1994), 29.

⁶ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 6.

⁷ Maurice Halbwachs, *Kolektivni spomin* (Ljubljana: Studia Humanitatis, 2001).

⁸ Jay Winter, “Foreword: Remembrance as a Human Right,” in *Memory and Political Change*, eds. Aleida Assmann, Linda Shortt (Great Britain: CPI Antony Rowe, Chippenham and Eastbourne, 2012), IX; notes to Halbwachs’ study were also published by Taja Kramberger, “Maurice Halbwachs: kolektivna memorija ni ne spomin in ne zgodovina,” *Monitor ZSA: revija za zgodovinsko, socialno in druge antropologije* 12, no. 1/2 (2010): 273–322. See also: Kramberger, Taja, Rotar, Drago B., “Za antropološko raziskovanje: (namesto uvoda),” *Monitor ZSA: revija za zgodovinsko, socialno in druge antropologije* 12, no. 1/2 (2010): 9–14.

as well. If, for example, social relations, values, and identity change, the function and perception of place can also change.

Changes in content of public space are conditioned by prominent political and historical shifts. An example of such shift is World War I (1914–1918), which led to the collapse of Austro-Hungarian monarchy, which had included the historical region of Styria. The latter was divided into two parts – Austrian Styria became a part of the new Republic of German Austria (later the Republic of Austria after 1919), while Slovenian Styria⁹ became part of the newly formed Yugoslavian state.¹⁰ Because the new (South) Slavic state sought to sever its memories and connection to the German Austrian political entity and its national identity, the latter was to be removed from public spaces,¹¹ leaving an emptiness that was filled with new content.¹² This was most noticeable in spaces now known as Maister Square and Liberty

⁹ Slovenian Styria of today became a part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes only after months of conflict in the ethnically varied regions of Carinthia and Styria in 1918 and 1919, in which Franjo Malgaj and Anton Lavrič, in addition to Rudolf Maister, played prominent roles. Distribution of territory was determined by diplomats at Paris Peace Conference (1. 11. 1918–13. 2. 1919). More on this in: Bogo Grafenauer, “Narodnostno stanje in slovensko-nemška etnična meja na Štajerskem kot dejavnik osvoboditve severovzhodne Slovenije 1918/1919,” *Zgodovinski časopis* 33, no. 3 (1979): 385–405; Janez J. Švajncner, *Slovenska vojska 1918–1919* (Ljubljana: Prešernova družba, 1990); Janko Kuster, ed., *Spominski zbornik ob 60-letnici bojev za severno slovensko mejo 1918–1919* (Maribor-Ljubljana: Klub koroških Slovencev, Sklad Prežihovega Voranca, Zveza prostovoljcev-borcev za severno slovensko mejo 1918–1919, 1979); Lojze Penič, *Boj za slovensko severno mejo 1918–1920: kratak oris bojev za slovensko severno mejo po razpadu Avstro-Ogrske* (Maribor: Muzej narodne osvoboditve Maribor, 1988); Lojze Ude, *Boj za severno slovensko mejo: 1918–1919* (Maribor: Založba Obzorja, 1977); Valerija Bernik, “General Rudolf Maister v vojaških dogodkih na območju Maribora in slovenskega Štajerskega v letih 1918 in 1919,” *Vojaška zgodovina* 15, no. 2 (2019): 23–54.

¹⁰ Jurij Perovšek, “Ustavna razprava in vprašanje državne ureditve,” in *Slovenska novejša zgodovina 1848–1992: Od programa Zedinjena Slovenija do mednarodnega priznanja Republike Slovenije* (Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino, 2005), 240–244; Jurij Perovšek, “Značaj kraljeve diktature,” in *Slovenska novejša zgodovina 1848–1992: Od programa Zedinjena Slovenija do mednarodnega priznanja Republike Slovenije* (Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino, 2005), 321–323.

¹¹ Memorial monument locations are visible on Maribor city plan of 1893, published in: Jože Curk, Primož Premzl, *Mariborske vedute* (Maribor: Umetniški kabinet Primož Premzl, 2004), 138–139; Jerneja Ferlež, ed., *Deutsche und Maribor. Ein Jahrhundert der Wenden 1846–1946* (Maribor: Umetniški kabinet Primož Premzl, 2012), 22–23.

¹² Between 1918 and 1941, only three memorial monuments were constructed in Maribor, yet many more were demolished or removed from public spaces. The artistic emptiness of public space in Maribor is evident from the content of the *Jutro* newsletter “since the symbols

Square. Accordingly, many memorials of historically important figures of Maribor were removed. Today's General Maister Square (formerly Tegetthoffplatz in the Austro-Hungarian era, Yugoslavia Square after 1918, and later Lenin Square) once contained the memorial of Maribor-born Admiral Wilhelm von Tegetthoff (Heinrich Fuss, 1882).¹³ The memorial is considered the most important landmark in Maribor's public space during the Austro-Hungarian era.¹⁴

Liberty Square is located east of the city castle, which once belonged to the Brandis noble family. The space was created in the early 19th century, when the city's defensive ditch was filled in and replaced by a castle garden, which was later bought by the municipality in the 1860s to create a straw and hay market. The square was named *Sophienplatz* after Countess Sophia Brandis until 1918, when it was renamed Liberty Square.¹⁵

of German thought have gone, Maribor has been without memorials." ("Postavimo spomenik našemu Parmi," *Mariborski večernik Jutra*, 8. 1. 1935, no. 1, 2).

¹³ Immediately after his death in 1871, preparations were made to construct a memorial that would be revealed on July 10, 1883. Maribor city mayor, Matthäus Reiser, wished to commission the memorial from the Viennese sculptor Carl Kundmann, the author of Tegetthoff memorial in Vienna. As Kundmann turned down the commission, it went to Kundmann's former student, Heinrich Fuss. The latter created a portrait of Tegetthoff based on photographs of his later years. He also added bronze personifications (full body female figures) of Helgoland and Vis, where the vice admiral ensured his best-known victories against the Kingdom of Italy. The personifications were taken to the city museum (today Maribor Regional Museum) after the collapse of the empire in 1918, and, as *works of lesser importance*, recast into the Memorial of the Fallen in the Struggle for National Liberation in 1947. The portrait of Tegetthoff was removed in 1918 revolution due to regime change, while the tall granite pedestal remained in the square at least until 1934. Sonja Žitko, *Po sledeh časa: Spomeniki v Sloveniji: 1800-1914* (Ljubljana: Debora, 1996), 112; Jože Curk, *Vodnik po Mariboru in bližnji okolici* (Maribor: Umetniški kabinet Primož Premzl, 2000), 72.

¹⁴ Sergej Vrišer, "Znamenja in javni spomeniki v Mariboru do 1941," *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje* n. v. 7, no. 2 (1971): 188–189; Žitko, *Po sledeh časa*, 112; Polona Vidmar, "Lokalspatriotismus und Lokalpolitik: die Denkmäler Wilhelms von Tegetthoff, Kaiser Josefs II. sowie Erzherzog Johanns in Maribor und die Familie Reiser," *Acta historiae artis Slovenica* 18, no. 2 (2013): 68–71.

¹⁵ Sašo Radovanović, *Mariborske ulice* (Maribor: Kapital, 2005), 245.



Figure 1: Tegetthoff Memorial in a postcard c. 1908 (PAM/X1702, Razglednica s Tegetthoffovim spomenikom v Mariboru).

In Search of a Location for a Serbian Orthodox Church

In the new common state of South Slavs, Serbian Orthodoxy was one – but not the only – state religion. This was evident primarily in citizenship ceremonies, where one had to pledge allegiance to God (in addition to the king). The question that arises is: to which god? The census of 1921 recorded the state's population as 46.6% Orthodox, 39.4% Catholic, and 11.2% Muslim.¹⁶ The 1931 census recorded Celje as 4.4% Orthodox and 91.6% Catholic; Ptuj as 2.5% Orthodox, and 94.4% Catholic; Maribor as 3.6% Orthodox, and 93% Catholic; and Ljubljana as 3.5% Orthodox, and 95% Catholic.¹⁷ Nonetheless, the question of which god to pledge allegiance to is redundant. The ruling family was Serbian, and the state's political power was centralised in Serbian politics. The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (SCS) and later the Kingdom of Yugoslavia were, due to economic, social, and above all political reasons, manifestations of the ideal of Great Serbia.¹⁸ Serbian identity was mainly demonstrated through religion, Serbian national identity had fused with Orthodoxy, which constituted the strongest point of divergence from the Catholic Croats.¹⁹

Dravska Banovina, which encompassed the entire territory of modern Slovenia with the exception of the Littoral Region, contained three Orthodox parishes (in Ljubljana, Maribor, and Celje, which emerged in 1921) that were quite specific, being set in a predominantly Roman-Catholic environment. The majority of Orthodox population in the country was composed of Serbian soldiers, and the priests were, in

¹⁶ Mateja Ratej, "Odenki politizacije Rimskokatoliške in Srbske pravoslavne cerkve pri Slovenski ljudski in Narodni radikalni stranki med svetovnimi vojnama," *Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino* 48, no. 2 (2008): 36.

¹⁷ Ratej, *Odenki politizacije*, 37.

¹⁸ The entire period from the creation of the Kingdom of SCS onward was marked by a desire to liberate Serbs outside of the Kingdom of Serbia. Great-Serbian ideas of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić in 1836 and Ilija Garašanin (*Načertanije*, 1844) that represent the foundations of later (Great) Serbian tendencies and are derived from medieval Serbian state must be taken into account. More on Serbian nationalism and its history and development in Miro Hribernik's doctoral dissertation: Miro Hribernik, *Vojna na Hrvaškem 1990–1995* (Maribor: Filozofska fakulteta Univerze v Mariboru, 2013), 80–88.

¹⁹ Gilbert In der Maur, *Der Weg zur Nation. Jugoslawiens Innenpolitik 1918–1938* (Berlin-Wien-Zürich: Verlag für Wirtschaft und Kultur Payer & Co, 1938), 96, 100, 140.

fact, army clerics.²⁰ After multiple years of struggle, all three Orthodox communities secured their own religious buildings, constructed in accordance to designs by the Serbian architect Momir Korunović.²¹ The Maribor Orthodox Church of St. Lazarus was the northernmost such construction in the new Yugoslav state and, along with the Serbian Orthodox Church of St. Sava in Celje, represented an example of construction in a city that had previously had a strong Germanic appearance.

The Serbian Orthodox religious community in Maribor initially had its religious ceremonial spaces in the building of the military real school. Later, with the help of Commander Pantelij Draškić, a military priest named Petar Trbojević secured the grand hall in King Alexander Barracks. Soon, as the number of worshippers increased, new spaces were required. The first solution involved repurposing the former Minorite church on Vojašniški Square. Subsequently, ideas of a new building were introduced (on Yugoslavia Square, Main Square, Zrinjski Square, and by Union Hall on Alexander Road, somewhat southeast of Yugoslavia Square).

The Serbian Orthodox community had chosen the location on Yugoslavia Square as early as 1926.²² At first, construction on Yugoslavia Square was prevented by the resolution that prohibited the municipality from building on the area purchased from the Brandis noble family in 1863.²³ Some citizens²⁴ who thought an Orthodox church in the park was unnecessary also opposed the construction of a building with a strong Yugoslav (Serbian) identity.²⁵ Contradictions in public opinion on the construction affair culminated in a poll organised by the mayor Alojzij Juvan on April 11, 1930, in the city council chamber.

²⁰ The history of Serbian Orthodox communities in the territories of modern Slovenia was explored in detail by Bojan Cvelfar. Bojan Cvelfar, *Srbska pravoslavna cerkev na Slovenskem med svetovnima vojnama* (Ljubljana: Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino, 2017).

²¹ Cvelfar, *Srbska pravoslavna cerkev*.

²² Cvelfar, *Srbska pravoslavna cerkev*, 479–486.

²³ Radovanović, *Mariborske ulice*, 60.

²⁴ Cvelfar, *Srbska pravoslavna cerkev*, 516–517; Marjan Žnidaršič, *Do pekla in nazaj. Nacistična okupacija in narodnoosvobodilni boj v Mariboru 1941–1945* (Maribor: Muzej narodne osvoboditve, 1997), 123.

²⁵ Maksimiljan Fras, *Mariborski župan dr. Alojzij Juvan in njegov čas* (Maribor: EPOS, 2013), 225.

The invitees included the principal of Maribor Real School, Jakob Zupančič; the vice president of the Orthodox community, Colonel Božo Putniković (who, in principle, represented the War Minister); Vice Mayor Franjo Lipold; artist and real-school professor Viktor Cotič; painter and professor Anton Gvajc; Orthodox priest Petar Trbojević and other members of the Orthodox community; chief councillor of construction Albin Černe; unnamed municipal councillors; unnamed representatives of the Beautification Society and the King Petar Memorial Committee (among them Principal Detela); and news reporters. It was also attended by two of the most prominent cultural authorities of the time in Slovenia: modernist architect Vladimir Šubic, and art historian and conservationist France Stele. Both defended the view that the church's design should be adapted to the square, and the choice of location should be left to the architects. Stele wanted the church to be built in the Byzantine architectural style. According to *Slovenec*, only Cotič opposed the construction of the church. Interestingly, Principal Detela, a member of the King Peter Memorial Committee, supported the construction of the church on the new (i.e., eastern) section of the Main Square.²⁶

An orthodox church on Main Square was certainly a grandiose idea, as it is the central and most important square in Maribor. Should any building be planned for construction on Main Square, the design of the square would be disrupted, the Plague Memorial would have to be relocated, and the Jesuit Church of St. Aloysius and the Renaissance city hall would have to surrender their dominant positions to the new building. It would be stranger still if the new building was to be constructed in the Serbian national style and, due to its sheer size, fill nearly the entire square. This would have been unacceptable to any urban planner, as well as to the mayor, no matter how supportive they may have been of the Serbian Orthodox community.

The fifth regular meeting of the municipal council of November 19, 1931 concluded that the construction of the Orthodox church on Yugoslavia Square be held off, as a new location by Union Hall came

²⁶ "Kje bo stala pravoslavna cerkev," *Slovenec*, 12. 4. 1930, no. 1, 5.

into consideration.²⁷ In 1932, *Mariborski večernik Jutra* reported on the unknown status of the church's construction, which was now planned for Zrinjski Square, which was enlarged for this express purpose, while Yugoslavia Square was to receive the King Petar Memorial.²⁸ In June of that year, the poll on the church's location was repeated. The argument for constructing on Zrinjski Square was supported by the function of Yugoslavia Square as a park and an aesthetic background to the city castle. Meanwhile, Zrinjski Square was "neglected and in much need of renewal."²⁹

The sixth regular meeting of the municipal council of September 1, 1932, concluded that the land for the church in the middle of Yugoslavia Square should be plotted in a way that would not harm (i.e., build on) the park. The church was to face eastward, with the entrance facing Maribor Real School. The Department of Construction approved these guidelines as well. This time, construction at this location was opposed by municipal councillor Štefan Dolček, citing citizens' disapproval. The municipal council voted in favour of constructing the Orthodox church on Yugoslavia Square, with 18 votes for and 5 against, confirming the present plans,³⁰ while the construction and free allocation of a 900 m² plot were not confirmed by the city council until September 11, 1934.³¹

²⁷ PAM, fond Mestna občina Maribor, b. 164, Zapisniki sej mestnega občinskega sveta Mestne občine Maribor v letu 1931, V. redna seja, 19. november 1931, 165.

²⁸ "Razgovor z g. mestnim županom," *Mariborski večernik Jutra*, 7. 5. 1932, no. 103, 2.

²⁹ "Anketa radi pravoslavne cerkve," *Mariborski večernik Jutra*, 4. 6. 1932, no. 125, 2.

³⁰ PAM, fond Mestna občina Maribor, b. 164, Zapisniki sej mestnega občinskega sveta Mestne občine Maribor v letu 1932, IV. seja, 19. november 1931, 128.

³¹ PAM, fond Mestna občina Maribor, b. 164, Zapisniki sej mestnega občinskega sveta Mestne občine Maribor v letu 1934, V. IV. seja, 19. november 1931, 11. 9. 1934; Cvelfar, *Srbska pravoslavna cerkev*, 493, 500.

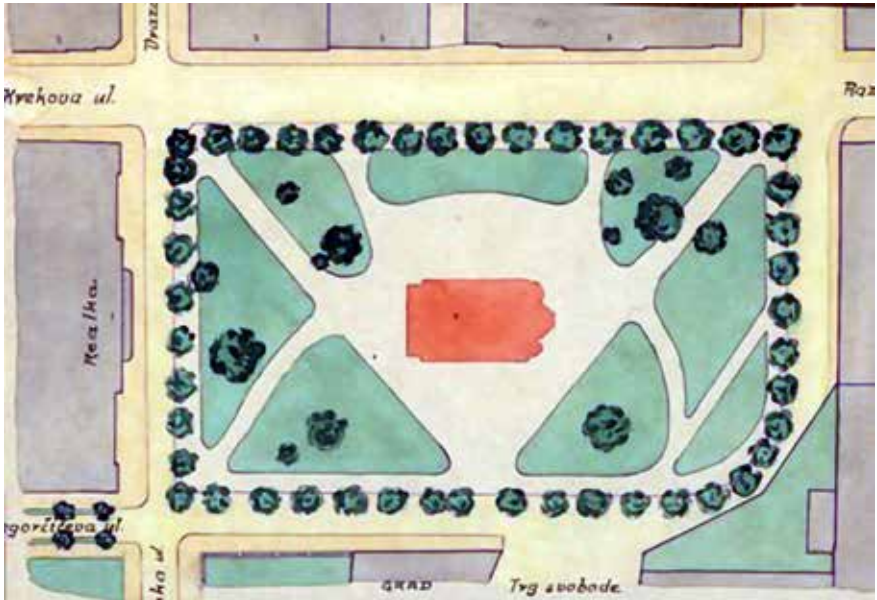


Figure 2: Location of the Orthodox church on Yugoslavia Square (PAM, fond Zavod za urbanizem Maribor, b. 53, Scale 1:1000).

This was followed by an unsuccessful complaint by citizens under the leadership of the Slovenian People's Party leader Franjo Žebot, who filed the complaint with the National Assembly in Belgrade.³² He would go on to attempt to stop the construction several more times. The complaint stated they do not oppose the construction of an Orthodox church in the city centre, but deemed Yugoslavia Square an inappropriate location. The resolution of November 19, 1931, supposedly nullified all prior resolutions and predicted the construction of the church by the Union Brewery when the latter was abandoned. This resolution was only to permit construction of a small chapel in place of the Tegetthoff Memorial. They also cited all prior complaints filed by the Industrialist Union, Landlords Association, Merchants Guild, Trade Cooperatives

³² "Zavrtnjena pritožba bivšega poslanca Žebota in tovarišev proti odstopu Jugoslovanskega trga za pravoslavno cerkev," *Mariborski večernik Jutra*, 30. 1. 1934, 2.

Union, Innkeepers and Coffee Shop Owners Cooperative, and the objection of the Museum and History Society of August 18, 1931. The ban of the Dravska Banovina, Drago Marušič, rejected the complaint as early as November 8, 1932, while all complaints by Žebot were collectively rejected in December 1933.³³

Disagreement with the location can also be found in Ksaver Meško's memoirs.³⁴ A polar opposite is found in the views of the liberal *Mariborski večernik Jutra* that criticised the new building's Yugoslavia Square location because "the monumental building would be completely blocked out by the trees," causing it to "stand alone like an unwanted child, pushed somewhere aside, without expression, constituting no perfection or wholeness."³⁵

How architect Momir Korunović was chosen to construct Slovenian Orthodox churches remains unclear. If the Serbian-Byzantine architectural style was selected in advance, Korunović was likely suggested as one of the most important architects of sacral architecture in this style, or as one of the most important Serbian architects of his time. After successfully designing the first church in Dravska Banovina (Church of St. Sava, Celje, 1929–1932), he may have been requested to plan churches in Ljubljana and Maribor by local Serbian Orthodox communities. Minutes of the Maribor city council meeting of March 27, 1930, show that a resolution was made to publicly list a contest for the construction commission.³⁶ However, there are no other records of a public contest or of any alternative plans.

The foundations of the Maribor Lazarus Church were laid during *Maribor Week*,³⁷ and the foundations were blessed on August 12, 1934, at 9.30a.m., in the presence of Korunović.³⁸ The construction officially

³³ Cvelfar, *Srbska pravoslavna cerkev*, 494–497.

³⁴ Ksaver Meško, *Izbrana dela, IV. del* (Celje: Družba sv. Mohorja, 1959), 333.

³⁵ "Pravoslavni božji hram v Mariboru," *Mariborski večernik Jutra*, 2. 12. 1932, no. 174, 3.

³⁶ "Mariborska obč. seja," *Slovenec*, 27. 3. 1930, no. 72, 2.

³⁷ "Mariborske vesti. Za pravoslavno cerkev," *Slovenec*, 21. julij 1934, no. 163a, 4; Cvelfar, *Srbska pravoslavna cerkev*, 499–500.

³⁸ "Blagoslovitev temeljnega kamna za pravoslavno cerkev na Jugoslovanskem trgu," *Mariborski večernik Jutra*, 9. 8. 1934, 2; "Pravoslavna cerkev v Mariboru," *Mariborski večernik Jutra*, 11. 8. 1934, no. 181, 3; "Slovesna blagoslovitev temeljnega kamna srbske pravoslavne cerkve," *Mariborski večernik Jutra*, 13. 8. 1934, 3.

began on August 27, 1935, on the exact location of the Wilhelm von Tegetthoff Memorial. By December, the church had been built up to the roof, followed by slower progression due to financial difficulties. In 1936, 800,000 dinars were needed to complete the construction, with the funds still being collected in 1940.³⁹



Figure 3: View from Liberty Square, 1938 (PAM, fond Zavod za urbanizem Maribor, b. 53, Trg svobode 1938).

Serbian National Style in Architecture and Its Historical and Political Contexts

Serbian architecture between the end of the 19th century and World War I can be divided into three main movements: classicism, secession, and the Serbian-Byzantine style. The first Western-style buildings in

³⁹ Cvelfar, *Srbska pravoslavna cerkev*, 516.

Serbia appeared in the 1830s.⁴⁰ The generation of architects born in the last quarter of the 19th century, which included Momir Korunović, had a strong impact on later Serbian architecture. It was at the turn of the 19th century that Serbian architects sought their own national style in architecture,⁴¹ which was part of a broader European trend of searching for a distinctive national architectural identity.⁴²

⁴⁰ Examples of classic architecture in Serbia are Saborna Church (Franz Jancke, 1837–1845) and the House of Cvetko Rajović (Franz Jancke, 1837–1838), Hotel Jelen (unknown architect, 1841) and the Military Academy (Jan Nevola, 1851). Classicist architects were often commissioned because they were mostly Serbs (e.g., Aleksander Bolgarski, Svetozar Ivanović, Konstantin Jovanović, Vladimir Nikolić). The first building built in the spirit of historicism was the Villa of Captain Miša (Jan Nevola, 1858–1863) where the antique-era inspiration was replaced by medieval Middle-Eastern art, which was entirely new. The most notable Byzantine-style architect was Jovan Ilkić (House of St. Sava, Belgrade, 1890), whose designs were later aided by Momir Korunović. Dimitrije T. Leko is considered the most prominent representative of Art-Nouveau forms, with the style also represented by the Serbian Pavillion (Milan Kapetanović and Milodrag Ruvidić) on the Paris World Exhibition of 1900. Zoran Manević, *Srpska arhitektura 1900–1970* (Beograd: Muzej savremene umjetnosti, 1972), 7–20; Zoran Manević, *Jučerašnje graditeljstvo* (Beograd: Zavod za planiranje grada Beograda, 1979); Zoran Manević, *Jugoslovenska arhitektura XX veka* (Beograd: Muzej savremene umjetnosti, 1986).

⁴¹ Aleksandar Ignjatović, *Jugoslovenstvo u arhitekturi 1904–1941* (Beograd: Gradjevinska knjiga, 2007); Aleksandar Ignjatović, “National Unity through Regional Diversity: Architecture as Political Reform in Yugoslavia, 1929–1941,” in *European Architectural History Network*, ed. Hilde Heynen and Janina Gosseye (Brussels: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten & Contactforum, 2012), 320–325; Aleksandar Kadijević, “Between unitarism and regionalisms Architecture in Yugoslavia (1918–1941),” in *Architecture of independence in Central Europe/Architektura niepodległości w Europie Środkowej* (Krakow: International cultural centre, 2018), 248–274; Aleksandar Kadijević, “Између уметничке носталгије и цивилизацијске утопије: византијске реминисценције у српској архитектури 20. века,” *Српска уметност III. Замисаљбање прошлости и перцепција средњег века у српској уметности XVIII–XXI века* (Београд: САНУ, 2016), 169–177; Александар Кадиевић, *Југословенска архитектура између два светска рата (1918–1941): контексти тумачења* (Београд: Универзитет у Београду – Филозофски факултет, 2023), 20–30.

⁴² Gothic style, for example, was considered a German style (despite originating in France). Later, Jugendstil was said to be a Deutsche Volkskunst. National style was more-or-less successfully employed by the Poles (Zdzisław Maczenski, Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz, Josef Dziekonski, Edgar Karatz) and the nations of the multinational Austro-Hungarian monarchy - Hungarians (Ödön Lechner, Károly Kós, István Medgyaszay), Slovaks (Dušan Jurkovič) and Czechs (Jan Kotěra). Marvin Trachtenberg, *The Modern Architecture, Architecture. From prehistory to post-modernism. The Western Traditions* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1986), 522; Ákos Moravanszky, *Die Architektur der Donaumonarchie* (Berlin: W. Ernst & Sohn, 1988), 139, 149, 140–164; Małgorzata Omilanowska, “Searching for a National Style in Polish Architecture at the End of the 19th and Beginning of the 20th Century,” in *Art and the National Dream: The Search for Vernacular Expression in Turn-of-the-Century Design*, ed. Nicola Gordon Bowe (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1993), 101–115; Ákos Moravanszky, *Competing Visions: Aesthetic Inven-*

The main inspiration for the Serbian national style was found in two architectural styles from the Medieval era of what was then Serbia – the Raška⁴³ and Morava Schools.⁴⁴ The history of Serbian statehood begins

tion and Social Imagination in Central European Architecture, 1867–1918 (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998), 230–234, 249–261; Jindřich Vybíral, “Modernism or the National Movement in Prague,” in *Art Around 1900 in Central Europe: Art Centers and Provinces*, ed. Jacek Purchla (Kraków: International Cultural Centre, 1999), 206–209; Elisabeth Clegg, *Art, Design and Architecture in Central Europe 1890–1920* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 129; Jindřich Vybíral, “National style as a construction of art history,” in *The Plurality of Europe: Identities and Spaces*, ed. Winfried Eberhard and Christian Lübke (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2010), 465–474; Vendula Hnídková, ed., *Národní styl: Kultura a politika/National style: Arts and politics*, (Prague: Academy of Arts, Architecture and Design, 2013); Dániel Veress, “Architecture as Nation-Building: The Search for National Styles in Habsburg Central Europe Before and After World War I,” in *Empires, Nations and Private Lives: Essays on the Social and Cultural History of the Great War*, ed. Nari Shelekpayev (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars, 2016), 8–39.

⁴³ The term *Raška School* was first used by Gabriel Millet as *L'Ecole de Rascie*, which was intended to denote the high-medieval art of the first half of the 14th century in the Raška region. The term is somewhat unfortunate, as the style is in fact of Macedonian origin, derived from the Byzantine style. The Byzantine influence is most evident studying the dome of the Church of The Mother of God in Studenica, which resembles the dome of the Pammakaristos in Constantinople. Byzantine architecture is also reflected in the symmetrical segmentation of the ribs inside the dome. The restless rule of King Milutin (Stefan Uroš II. Milutin Nemanjić) saw the mixing of Macedonian styles (central plan, drawn-in crossing, polychrome façade of brick and stone) into the Byzantine style due to southwards expansion. Under his commission, numerous sacral buildings were constructed, e.g., Hilandar, The Mother of God of Ljevisa in Prizren, and churches of Studenica and Gračanica monasteries. Vojeslav Mole, *Umetnost južnih Slovanov* (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1965), 71.

⁴⁴ The Morava School was equally clumsily named by Gabriel Millet, seen as it still contained Byzantine and Thessalonica styles. The term sought to demonstrate the first general unity in the style of sacral architecture in the area of Morava Serbia in the 14th century, i.e., the time of Dušan the Mighty and Prince Lazar (also the time of Serbian defeat at Kosovo Polje in 1389). This encompasses properties such as unity in ground plans of churches, side chapel function, symmetrical construction, balanced composition, and multiple domes (e.g., five) where the main one is always the largest. While there were some stylistic deviations, we could talk of typical plans (or blueprints). Important buildings of Morava School include: Gradac Monastery (commissioned by Queen Jelena, the wife of Uroš I, c. 1276), church of St. Štefan/Lazarus Church in Kruševac (court church of Prince Lazar with a tri-conchal plan, influencing later construction, c. 1377), church of Mary's Ascension in Ravanica Monastery, church of Birth of The Mother of God in Naupara Monastery (1382, influenced by the Lazarus Church), church of Mary Appearing in Veluč Monastery (c. 1370), the church of Rudenica Monastery (early 15th century) and the church of Mary Appearing in Kalenić Monastery (1407–1413). The monastery church at Gradac shows the qualities of the Raška School (archivolts around the portal and windows, lesenes with an arched frieze, biforas) as well as innovations (multi-coloured bricks, most evident at the Lazarus Church in Kruševac and the Ravanica Monastery church). It is these two churches that are, out of all those mentioned, the richest both in decoration and exterior segmentation. It is important that the locations of conchs have changed. With the

in the 9th century with the foundation of Raška. Near the Adriatic Sea, several smaller states emerged (Zahumlje, Trebinjska, and Duklja) and united as the Zeta state, or Littoral Serbia, in the 11th century. The history of the independent Serbian state begins in the second half of the 12th century, when the Great Mayor Štefan Nemanja united Raška and Zeta.⁴⁵

The Raška School in Serbian architecture developed between the final third of the 12th century and the first half of the 14th century. Under the commission of the first Serbian king, Štefan Nemanjić (Prvovenčani: The First-Crowned), several churches were constructed, including the Church of St. George within the monastery complex in Djurdjevi Stupovi near Novi Pazar (between 1160 and 1170) and the Church of The Mother of God within the Studenica Monastery (c. 1183–1186).⁴⁶ Štefan's grandson Miroslav commissioned the Church of St. Peter at Bijelo Polje (second half of the 12th century), his nephew Štefan Prvoslav commissioned the Church of St. George in Ivangrad (final quarter of the 12th century), and another grandson, King Radoslav, commissioned the Church of Ascension in Žiča Monastery (the Serbian church became independent in 1219, making Žiča the seat of the first archbishop; 1206–1217).⁴⁷

Raška School we noted all three semicircular finishes on the eastern part of the façade, while the Morava school is known for the aforementioned “typical plans” wherein the conchs are distributed on the southern, eastern and northern face of the church. Although the churches of the Morava School are more-or-less alike, there is evident distinction between their building segments. Archivolts are the most expressive in the case of Lazarus Church, where they first encompass the portal with the lunette, followed by the rose window above the portal. Rose windows were an essential part of Morava School architecture, while they are not found within Raška School. Biforas appear in both architectural schools, becoming simpler as early as the Rudenica church. Slobodan Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans. From Diocletian to Süleyman the Magnificent* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 671–682.

⁴⁵ Mole, *Umetnost južnih Slovanov*, 71.

⁴⁶ Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, 409.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 491–494.



Figure 4: Church in Gračanica Monastery near Prizren (https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/2/2e/Gracanica_1.jpg/1280px-Gracanica_1.jpg).



Figure 5: Church in Ravanica Monastery (https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/0/0c/Monastery_Ravanica.JPG/1024px-Monastery_Ravanica.JPG).

Out of all periods in Serbian national history, Serbians were most drawn to the medieval era of Serbian statehood, when their country was at its largest and strongest. In light of the political instability of the 19th and 20th centuries, the desire for a strong (and, in memory, politically stable) state became ever stronger. The memory of Great Serbia also represents the living memory of then “events of semi-modern history”: independence struggles in the beginning of the 19th century and other contemporary struggles – both Balkan Wars and the World War I, understood as one continuous conflict (1912–1918) from which Serbia emerged victorious and realised its Great Serbian aspirations within the new Yugoslav state.

Architects developed this essentially Byzantine style, or a revival of the Raška and Morava Schools, in the 19th and 20th centuries in a variety of ways, which led to different nomenclatures: Byzantine style, Neo-Byzantine style, Semi-Byzantine style, Modern-Byzantine style, Roman-Byzantine style, Dušan's style,⁴⁸ and National style or Serbian-Byzantine style in national architecture.⁴⁹ During the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the style became the *de facto* national style,⁵⁰ reflecting the Serbian desire for their national style's dominance throughout the Kingdom, derived from the drive for unitarism due to the unsolved national question.⁵¹

Korunović remains the most prominent representative of this style. The rise of his career began immediately after completing his degree in 1906 when he worked at the Ministry of Construction of the Kingdom of Serbia, which mainly oversaw construction of state buildings,⁵² as well as reconstructions of demolished buildings after World War I. The

⁴⁸ Aleksandar Kadijević, *Vizantijsko graditeljstvo kao inspiracija srpskih neimara novijeg doba* (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 2016), 49–50.

⁴⁹ Aleksandar Kadijević, *Srpski arhitekti novijeg doba: Momir Korunović* (Beograd: Muzej nauke i tehnike, 1996), 26, 70, 72.

⁵⁰ Manević, *Srpska arhitektura 1900–1970*, 14–20.

⁵¹ Kadijević, *Srpski arhitekti novijeg doba*, 41.

⁵² He projected the Belgrade Sokolski Dom; in 1912 he created plans for Belgrade Post Office (today the location of Yugoslav Army House); in 1913 he was part of the working committee of Meštrović's Vidovdan Temple and the establishment of Yugoslav Modern Gallery in Belgrade, which significantly improved his reputation. He was strongly marked by World War I, which prompted him to design the never constructed memorial of “undead giants.” Kadijević, *Srpski arhitekti novijeg doba*, 34–38; Aleksandar Kadijević, Tadija Stefanović, “Expressionism and Serbian Architecture Between Two World Wars,” in *On the Very Edge. Modernism and Mo-*

inter-war period was, for both Korunović and overall Serbian national style, the golden age of creativity (e.g., Ministry of Post, Belgrade, 1926; Post Office 2, Belgrade, 1928–1929). He became an essential figure in overseeing construction projects and received by far the largest number of commissions. This remained so until the 1930s, when modernist architects gained popularity. Korunović remained faithful to traditionalism, ignoring modern architecture, which he considered soulless construction. Up until World War II, he primarily designed sacral buildings, which had previously constituted only a minority of his commissions.⁵³

Korunović drew inspiration from both the Raška-Littoral and Morava Schools. He commonly used stone (for example in Krupnje church, 1928; Kalamegdan church, 1937), and much more commonly, reinforced concrete (Church of St. Cyril and Methodius, Ljubljana, 1930–1936), as well as brick, which he then plastered (Church of St. Sava in Celje, planned 1929, built 1932, demolished 1941; Church of St. Cyril and Methodius, Vis, 1932, demolished in the 1960s). His churches are characterised by a Greek-cross-shaped floor plan. From this type of floor plan, the architect gradually continued construction towards the top, which the literature calls pyramidal composition or gradient-based increase of architectural mass.⁵⁴ Such increase of architectural mass towards the top is the most evident in the Church of St. Lazarus in Maribor (1934–1939), St. Sava in Celje (1929–1932), Church of St. Cyril and Methodius in Ljubljana (1930–1933), and Church of St. John the Baptist in Grdelić (1935–1937, 1940). The latter was highly appreciated by Korunović himself, but Aleksandar Kadijević, a Korunović scholar, evaluates the churches in Maribor and Celje as constructions of superior quality.⁵⁵

The architect's works are also recognisable by their distinct portals. Two narrow columns support a semicircular arch that functions as a small gatehouse. The portal also has its own roof. Such portals are repeated on all of his churches, since the aforementioned church of St. Elias in Bržan. Other notable cases are the Church of Christ's Assumption in

ernity in the Arts and Architecture of Interwar Serbia (1918-1941) (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2014), 184.

⁵³ Kadijević, *Srpski arhitekti novijeg doba*.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 47, 56, 47.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 97.

Krupnje (1928), Church of St. Sava in Celje, and Church of the Birth of St. John the Baptist in Negbina (1936–1939). In some places, the portals are somewhat less massive: Church of Archangel Michael in Deligrad (1930–1933), Church of St. Lazarus in Bulbuder, Belgrade, (1927), and Church of St. John the Baptist in Grdelić (1935–1940). Some church buildings designed by Korunović do not feature his characteristic portal style, such as the Church in Glagovac (planned 1934–1935, constructed 1934–1935) and the Church of The Mother of God in Belgrade (1933). In the first building, the façade is emphasised by a length of an arm of the Greek cross, a gate, and a tympanum. The side façades, like the main one, include a rose window, a horizontal cornice, and semicircular arches. The other church also has a bell tower, which is not very typical of Korunović. A bell tower is also included in the Church of St. Lazarus in Belgrade and the Church of St. Cyril and Methodius on the island Vis. At the Church of The Mother of God, the bell tower emerges from the main façade. Another Belgrade church (St. Lazarus) has the bell tower added to the back of the church. The church on Vis is an exception, as the bell tower is added to the right side of the main façade. That is where Korunović adhered to Dalmatian architectural tradition, which he very successfully fused with his characteristic architectural elements – shallow archivolt, narrow and long semicircular windows and an octagonal dome above the *naos* (cella).

Korunović's architecture is characterised by octagonal domes. Some churches have but one, while many more have three or five. One of his preserved sketches shows a church with seven domes, among which the main dome has a hexagonal plan (Monumental Temple, 1937).⁵⁶ This project, though it remained forever on paper, allowed the architect to design the building as he wished, which is why unrealised plans and sketches are just as important as realised projects for understanding his personal style.

Along with the Greek cross, the three-conch finish must be noted in considering floor plans. The inspiration for this was yet again drawn from medieval Serbian architecture that inspired the architect since

⁵⁶ The plan is family-owned, published on: Kadijević, *Srpski arhitekti novijeg doba*, 98.

his formative years.⁵⁷ Along the main polygonally enclosed apse, these churches boasted two additional such apses on side façades. Churches without a three-conch finish nonetheless had an emphasised design of a Greek cross (Church of St. George in Sušak, 1937).

The Serbian-Byzantine style dominated Serbian architecture until modernism prevailed.⁵⁸ Though it eventually lost its dominant position, it nonetheless continued and again became very popular in the last decade of the 20th century, i.e. during the Milošević regime (Church of St. Basil Ostroški in Belgrade (Mihajlo Mitrović, 1995–2000), Church of St. Luke the Evangelist in Belgrade (Aleksandar M. Lukić, 1995–1999), Church of St. Dimitri of Thessaloniki in Belgrade (N. Popović, 1998–2001) and church of St. Cyril and Methodius in Jajinca (Branislav Mitrović, Boris Podrecca 1996–2002)).⁵⁹ For Serbian society, the church represented additional ideological foundations for nationalism (e.g., Serbs as a holy nation of martyrs, the Kosovo Myth, St. Lazarus as Christ and Miloš Obilić as St. Paul), while for the Church, this meant a dominant role in social life.⁶⁰

Throughout history, the Serbian Orthodox Church has considered itself the vessel of Serbian national identity. There was even a deep-rooted notion that a non-Orthodox person cannot be a Serb.⁶¹ Christoforus Mylonas⁶² defined Serbian Orthodoxy as an attribute of collective subjectivity, a response to the need of coherent identity in Serbia throughout history. When collectivity is understood as an emotional community, manifestations of identity are intended to promote national emotions.⁶³ Serbian Orthodoxy is a union of religion and nationality. Mylonas proposes a hypothesis that the Catholicism of Serbian Orthodoxy should be understood as a united religious entity. The Orthodox religion became a fundamental determiner of the nation

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁵⁸ Kadijević, *Srpski arhitekti novijeg doba*, 24; Manević, *Srpska arhitektura 1900–1970*, 19–21.

⁵⁹ More on churches: Kadijević, *Srpski arhitekti novijeg doba*, 69–77.

⁶⁰ Marko Velikonja, “Religizirani narod vs. nacionalizirana religija: verski vidiki kosovske krize,” *Časopis za kritiku znanosti* 27, no. 195/196 (1999): 97–98.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 98.

⁶² Christos Mylonas, *Serbian Orthodox Fundamentals: The Quest for an Eternal Identity* (Budapest-New York: Central European University Press, 2003).

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 16.

mainly because of the Serbian Orthodox Church's autocephaly that was later transferred to the national level, aided by national myth⁶⁴ (e.g., The Kosovo Myth and Vidovdan) and Serbian saints, (e.g., St. Sava) who were at the same time members of Serbian ruling families. By connecting past and present, as well as the sacral and the profane, Serbian religious identity provides a "map" of its existence and promotes the preservation of national ethos. Thus, a sacralised identity, based on an expanded awareness of the mythical/historical lore of a nation (a vision of a "thinking" diachronic community), is created.⁶⁵

Church of St. Lazarus on Yugoslavia Square

The Orthodox Church of St. Lazarus was built in the middle of the park on today's square, on the exact location of the memorial to Vice Admiral Wilhelm von Tegetthoff. It is known that it was properly oriented (eastwards) and measured 32 by 22 by 30 metres. It was stylistically very similar to the churches in Celje and in Ljubljana, from which it differed in number of domes, façade details, and floor plan. The Maribor church featured five domes, all of which were fully visible (reminiscent of the medieval Gračanica Monastery). However, it was not inspired only by Gračanica, but also other medieval buildings in the territory of medieval Serbia, such as the Lazarus Church in Kruševac and Ravanica Monastery.

⁶⁴ "A myth is typically a tale concerned with past events, giving them a special meaning and significance for the present and thereby reinforcing the authority of those who are wielding power in a particular community." Carl Joachim Friedrich, Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy* (New York-Washington-London: Frederick A. Praeger, 1961), 99.

⁶⁵ Mylonas, *Serbian Orthodox Fundamentals*, 47–52.



Figure 6: The church during construction (MNOMb, Fototeka MNOMb, inv. no. 15.308).

The external appearance of the church had been little known until now.⁶⁶ It is known that it had five octagonal domes, making it Korunovič's largest (and northernmost) church in Dravska Banovina. The church had a Greek cross floor plan, extended westward by a gatehouse. The building functioned extremely plastically, gradually increasing the mass towards the top using numerous construction elements.

⁶⁶ The church has been mentioned in the literature already. E.g.: Anton Ožinger, "Cerkvena zgodovina Maribora od konca 18. stoletja," in *Maribor skozi stoletja* (Maribor: Obzorja, 1991), 508; Kadijevič, *Srpski arhitekti novijeg doba*; Fras, *Mariborski župan dr. Alojzij Juhan*, 225; Franci Lazarini, "Cerkve, samostani, redovne hiše in sinagoge," in Igor Sapač, Franci Lazarini, *Arhitektura 19. stoletja na Slovenskem* (Ljubljana: Muzej za arhitekturo in oblikovanje, 2015), 117; Nina Gostenčnik, *Delovanje mariborskega mestnega sveta med letoma 1929 in 1935* (Maribor: Filozofska fakulteta Univerze v Mariboru, 2016), 139–143; Cvelfar, *Srbska pravoslavna cerkev*, 427, 479; Nina Gostenčnik, *Maribor v času mestnega načelnika dr. Franja Lipolda (1931–1935)* (Maribor: Založba Pivec, 2019).



Figure 7: The view of the Orthodox Church of St. Lazarus from the direction of Maribor Real School, 1936 (PAM, fond Zavod za urbanizem Maribor, b. 53, Pogled s strehe realke 1936).

This is typical of many of his churches (e.g., St. Sava in Celje, the Church of St. Cyril and Methodius in Ljubljana, and the Church of John the Baptist in Grdelić).

The western façade was divided into three axes. Attached to it was a five-arched gatehouse with a gabled roof that was not originally planned.⁶⁷ The semicircular arches rested on slender concrete towers with capitals. The eastern façade included three portals. The oaken gates had a geometrical pattern and chamfered upper corners. Above them was an empty lunette, framed by encircled Greek crosses. This lunette was bordered by simple walling, all finished with a rectangle and another lunette with a trifora. Inside the trifora, there were two small columns with simple capitals with a Greek cross.⁶⁸

A similar segmentation solution can be found on the frontal façade of the Lazarus Church in Kruševac (1375–1378), where lesenes frame both the portal and the rose window above it. The motif of the lunette with windows appears again on the Maribor Lazarus Church, but positioned somewhat higher, under the main dome. This larger lunette had five windows of varying height, framed by lesenes. The Order Form for artificial rock parts shows that the space between windows was occupied by columns with simple capitals with no crosses.⁶⁹ There were four columns – grouped in equal pairs, following the size of the windows.⁷⁰ The main one was the tallest, the rest gradually decreased in height.⁷¹

⁶⁷ PAM/18, fond Posamezne nerazvrščene fotografije Maribor, b. 1, Osnovna skica pogled na glavni vhod pravoslavne cerkve Maribor in Nacrt crkve u Mariboru.

⁶⁸ PAM/1758, fond Dev Saša (1908–1942), b. 8, Maribor – Srbska pravoslavna cerkev sv. Lazarja – “Nova Lazarica” – investitorja srbske pravoslavne cerkvene občine na Jugoslovanskem trgu [Trg generala Maistra], P-S.C. Portal; PAM/1758, fond Dev Saša (1908–1942), b. 8, Maribor – Srbska pravoslavna cerkev sv. Lazarja – “Nova Lazarica” – investitorja srbske pravoslavne cerkvene občine na Jugoslovanskem trgu [Trg generala Maistra], P-S.C. Portal z prerezom in tlorisom.

⁶⁹ PAM/1758, fond Dev Saša (1908–1942), b. 8, Maribor – Srbska pravoslavna cerkev sv. Lazarja – “Nova Lazarica” – investitorja srbske pravoslavne cerkvene občine na Jugoslovanskem trgu [Trg generala Maistra].

⁷⁰ PAM/1758, fond Dev Saša (1908–1942), b. 8, Maribor – Srbska pravoslavna cerkev sv. Lazarja – “Nova Lazarica” – investitorja srbske pravoslavne cerkvene občine na Jugoslovanskem trgu [Trg generala Maistra], P-S.C. Detajl I. z visokimi ozkimi okni.

⁷¹ PAM/18, fond Posamezne nerazvrščene fotografije Maribor, b. 1, Projekt crkve Lazarice u Mariboru; PAM/18, fond Posamezne nerazvrščene fotografije Maribor, b. 1, Fotografija s pogledom na glavno pročelje med gradnjo.

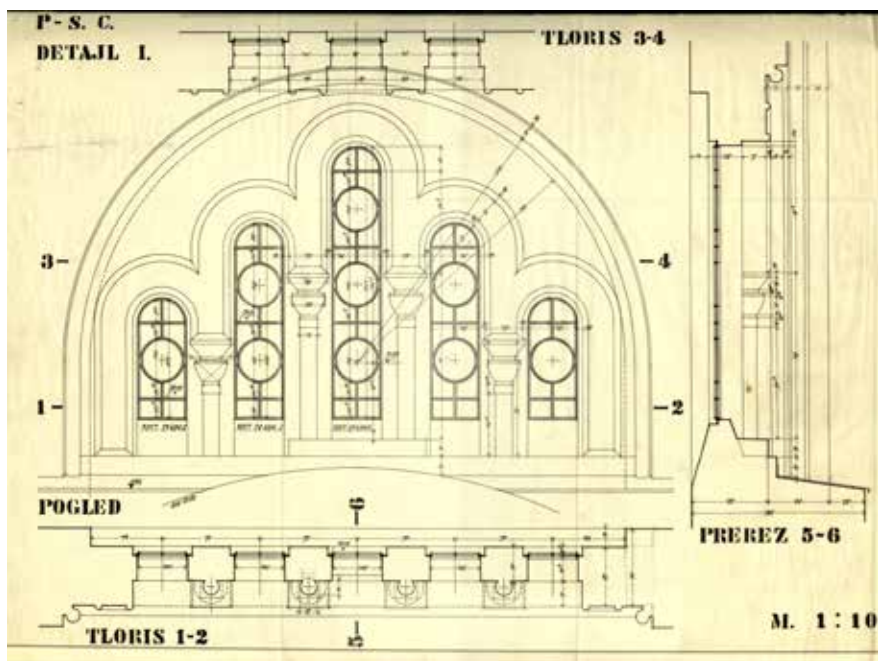


Figure 8: Plan of pentafora on the central axis of the western façade of the Church of St. Lazarus in Maribor (PAM/1758, fond Dev Saša (1908–1942), b. 8, Maribor – Srbska pravoslavna cerkev sv. Lazarja – “Nova Lazarica” – investitorja srbske pravoslavne cerkvene občine na Jugoslovanskem trgu [Trg generala Maistra], P-S.C. Detajl I. z visokimi ozkimi okni).

The main dome was wider and a story higher than the others.⁷² Due to its size, it required additional wooden construction. The sizes of the domes have also been preserved – the diameter of the large dome measured 240 cm, while the diameter of the smaller ones measured 163 cm.

⁷² PAM/1758, fond Dev Saša (1908–1942), b. 8, Maribor – Srbska pravoslavna cerkev sv. Lazarja – “Nova Lazarica” – investitorja srbske pravoslavne cerkvene občine na Jugoslovanskem trgu [Trg generala Maistra], P-S.C. Mala kupola M. 1:20; PAM/1758, fond Dev Saša (1908–1942), b. 8, Maribor – Srbska pravoslavna cerkev sv. Lazarja – “Nova Lazarica” – investitorja srbske pravoslavne cerkvene občine na Jugoslovanskem trgu [Trg generala Maistra], P-S.C. Lesena konstrukcija glavne kupole M. 1:20.

One layer of the wooden construction consisted of a cross-section of two Greek crosses, with each section supported by tongs.⁷³

The eastern and northern sides of the church were never fully documented. All we know is that the church finished with a polygonal (5/8) apse, which is visible on the original floor plan of the church.⁷⁴ This solution is characteristic of Korunović's churches as well as the medieval Serbian buildings of the Morava and Raška Schools that inspired the architect.

Reviewing the drafts from the 1939 public contest for the urban redesign of Liberty Square and the memorial to King Aleksandar I Karađorđević, we find three images with the Church of St. Lazarus in the background. Two of these are sketches⁷⁵ and the other is a half-photograph/half-sketch,⁷⁶ where a competition participant aimed to realistically integrate the memorial into the urban landscape. The lower section of the draft depicts a sketch of Liberty Square, while the upper section shows a photograph of Yugoslavia Square with the municipal palace and surrounding buildings. The discovery of the sketch confirms the polygonal apse conclusion of the eastern section of the church.

The three-conch floor plan is typical for Serbian medieval construction, which Korunović also incorporated in his churches in Ljubljana and Celje. The southern façade of the Maribor church is the most notable. While the architect used semicircular finishes on the western façade, the southern one involves a new approach that Korunović only used in Maribor. The closest stylistic parallels can be found in the fronts of the Church of St. George in Smedrevo (Aleksandar Damjanov, 1851–1855).

⁷³ PAM/1758, fond Dev Saša (1908–1942), b. 8, Maribor – Srbska pravoslavna cerkev sv. Lazarja – “Nova Lazarica” – investitorja srbske pravoslavne cerkvene občine na Jugoslovanskem trgu [Trg generala Maistra], P-S.C. Mala kupola M. 1:20.

⁷⁴ PAM/1758, fond Dev Saša (1908–1942), b. 8, Maribor – Srbska pravoslavna cerkev sv. Lazarja – “Nova Lazarica” – investitorja srbske pravoslavne cerkvene občine na Jugoslovanskem trgu [Trg generala Maistra], Lega cerkve na Jugoslovanskem trgu, situacija 1:1000.

⁷⁵ PAM, fond Zbirka gradbenih načrtov (1796–1994), b. 2, “12 B – 1, 12b”; PAM, fond Zbirka gradbenih načrtov (1796–1994), b. 2, “Tehnični popis idejnega osnutka za spomenik blagopokojnemu kralju Aleksandru U. Uedinitelju v Mariboru.”

⁷⁶ PAM, fond Zbirka gradbenih načrtov (1796–1994), b. “Tehnični popis idejnega osnutka za spomenik blagopokojnemu kralju Aleksandru U. Uedinitelju v Mariboru,” karton 1; PAM, fond Zbirka gradbenih načrtov (1796–1994), b. 2, “Idejni osnutek spomenika kralju Aleksandru I.”

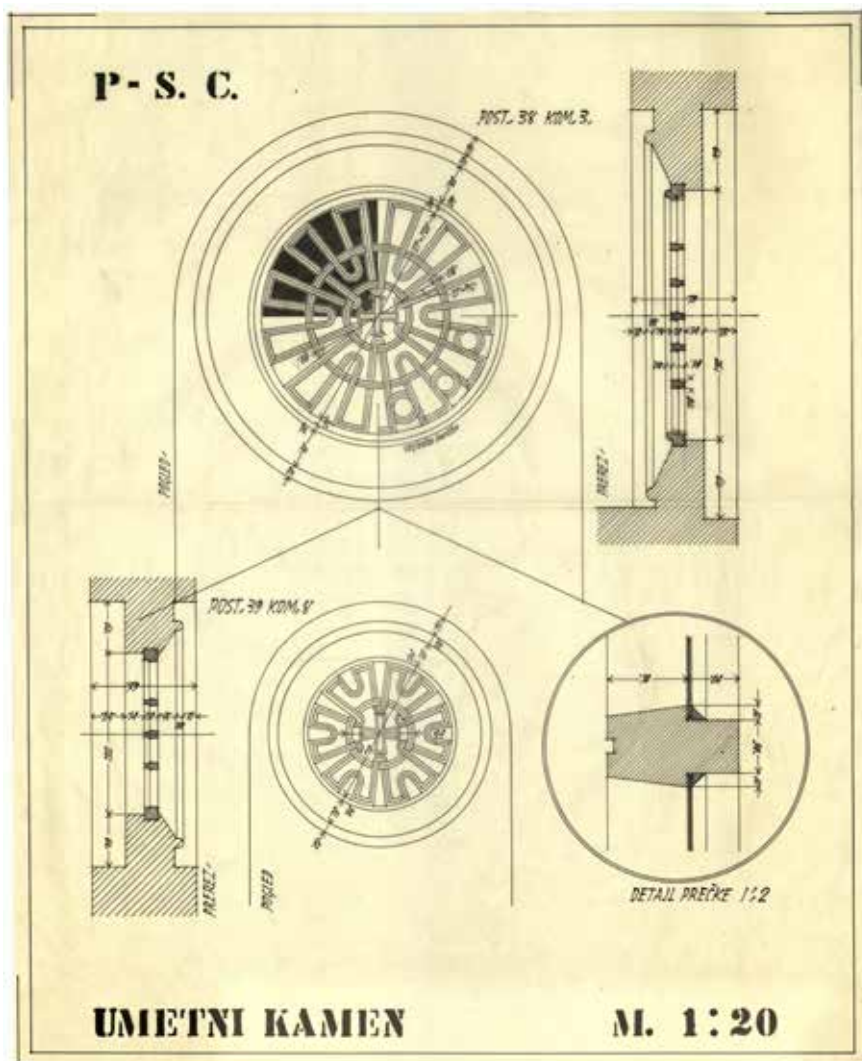


Figure 9: Round window plan on the western or lateral façades (PAM/1758, fond Dev Saša (1908–1942), b. 8, Maribor – Srbska pravoslavna cerkev sv. Lazarja – “Nova Lazarica” – investitorja srbske pravoslavne cerkvene občine na Jugoslovanskem trgu [Trg generala Maistra], Načrt okroglega okna s prečnim prerezom).

The photograph clearly shows that the Lazarus Church dominated the Maribor skyline, both in terms of height and architectural prominence.

Beneath the front, a round window is visible, similar to those on the western façade. The Order Form for artificial rock parts⁷⁷ notes three different round windows. Item 38 shows the order of six pieces of round windows, each with a diameter of 1.80 m, with an inserted iron band, designed for glazing. The first three of these windows match the plan for a round window with a cross-section from the section plans folder, where the iron bands are interwoven with the Greek cross in the middle in a braided pattern.⁷⁸ The second group of three windows has the same diameter, with circles added to the pattern. Item 39 lists the order of 8 round windows with the same pattern as those in Item 38, but smaller, with a diameter of 1.10 m. These smaller windows were meant for bell towers, two for the outer sides of each one. A similar architectural approach was used in Korunović's church in Sušak. The question remains, which three windows from Item 38 were used for the western façade and which were installed on the lateral façades.

Two groups of six piers and three columns, measuring 2.85 m in height and resting on 45 cm tall bases, were also ordered. The first six piers had Greek crosses chiselled into both the bases and capitals, while different ornamentation was planned for the other group.

Two groups of the same piers decorated the exterior and interior of the building's three entrances. The presence of three decorated entrances into the church is further confirmed by Item 50, which details an order for three smoothly cut brick frames with chamfered corners for church entrances.

Three steps led into the gatehouse, with two steps leading from the gatehouse to each entrance. An order was placed for four 7.5 m wide and 80 cm tall pillars to support the main dome, and for two 2.5 m

⁷⁷ PAM/1758, fond Dev Saša (1908–1942), b. 8, Maribor- Srbska pravoslavna cerkev sv. Lazarja – “Nova Lazarica” – investitorja srbske pravoslavne cerkvene občine na Jugoslovanskem trgu [Trg generala Maistra].

⁷⁸ PAM/1758, fond Dev Saša (1908–1942), b. 8, Maribor – Srbska pravoslavna cerkev sv. Lazarja – “Nova Lazarica” – investitorja srbske pravoslavne cerkvene občine na Jugoslovanskem trgu [Trg generala Maistra], Načrt okroglega okna s prečnim prerezom.



Figure 10: View from Liberty Square, April 1941 (PAM, fond Zavod za urbanizem Maribor, b. 53, Zborovanje na Trgu svobode).

wide and 30 cm wide pillars to support the quire. Both sets of pillars were concrete-cast and overlaid with terrazzo.

The floor was paved with terrazzo tiles, with the order amounting to 355 m². 3–4-centimetre-wide stones formed a diamond pattern, surrounded by a 25 cm wide strip of darker, smaller stones. The sacristy, baptism chapel and the staircase to the quire were also tiled in terrazzo, but without the diamond-pattern segmentation.



Figure 11: Demolition of the Orthodox church following German occupation of 1941 (MNOMb, Fototeka MNOMb, inv. no. 7.049).

The King Aleksandar Memorial on Liberty Square

The church, designed in Serbian national architectural style, was to be ideologically connected to the Memorial of King Aleksandar the Unifier (Karadorđević), located on what is now Liberty Square. Even though Slomšek Square and Main Square were the areas most in need of renewal during the 1930s, the Department of Conservation of Cultural Heritage and the city of Maribor decided to work on Liberty Square instead. They planned to construct an equestrian memorial to King Aleksandar Karadorđević, who had been assassinated in 1934.⁷⁹

A public contest for the design of the memorial was announced in 1938 and remained open until March 1939. On March 3, 1939, the Royal Office of Dravska Banovina sent a letter to Belgrade, requesting the approval of selected drafts. This letter also mentions the winners of the competition – architect Jaroslav Černigoj and sculptor Boris Kalin – under the project title “New Axis.”⁸⁰

According to their draft, the new layout of the square, featuring rectangular tiles, was to direct attention northwards towards the park (the Lazarus Church). This alignment strategy is also reflected in some other proposals, such as the project titled “III” (submitted by architects Joško Jež and Ljubo Humek, with sculptor Josip Sarnitz) and an unsigned proposal titled “Perspective.”⁸¹

The primary focus of these designs was the memorial itself, which was positioned in the northern section of the southern half of Liberty Square. The proposed memorial consisted of two columns with capitals and an equestrian statue, oriented eastwards. The construction was to stand on a platform with an elliptical floor plan. It was to be marked

⁷⁹ More in: Damir Globočnik, “Spomenik kralju Aleksandru I. v Mariboru,” *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje* 90=n. v. 55, no. 3-4 (2019): 133–163.

⁸⁰ PAM, fond Mestna občina Maribor [1532–1849], b. 464, spis 3667/39, Za počastitev spomina blagopokojnega Viteškega kralja Aleksandra I. Ujedinitelja v Mariboru; PAM, fond Zbirka gradbenih načrtov (1796–1994), b. 2, Idejni osnutki za ureditev Trga svobode v Mariboru in spomenik kralju Aleksandru I. Karadorđeviću, osnutek načrta 12 B – 1, 12d.

⁸¹ PAM, fond Zbirka gradbenih načrtov (1796–1994), b. 2, “Tehnični popis idejnega osnutka za spomenik blagopokojnemu kralju Aleksandru I. Ujedinitelju v Mariboru,” geslo 1.

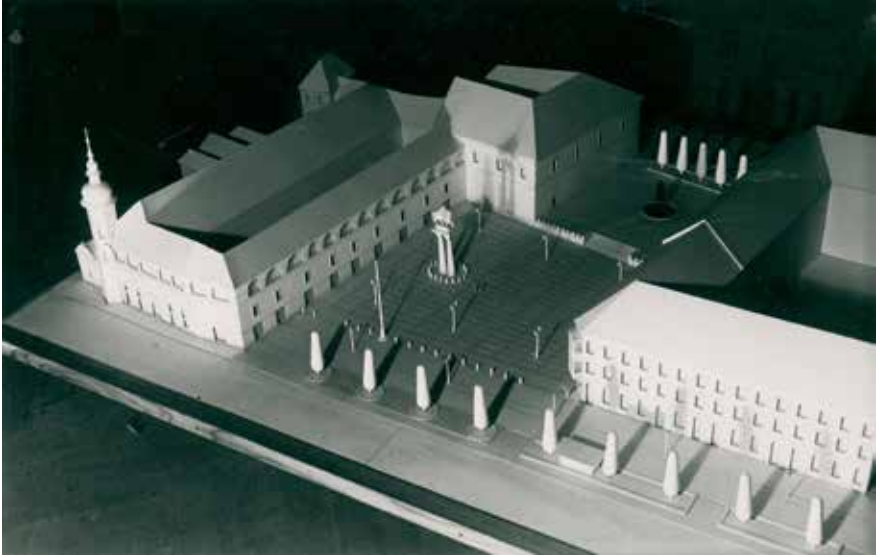


Figure 12: Model of Liberty Square with the “New Axis”
King Aleksandar Memorial (PAM, fond Zavod za urbanizem Maribor, b. 4).

with columns, approximately a metre and a half in height.⁸² The unveiling of the unfinished memorial was originally planned for Vidovdan of 1941 – a date of symbolic and political relevance. However, the outbreak of World War II in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia prevented the project from being completed.⁸³

⁸² PAM, fond Zbirka gradbenih načrtov (1796–1994), b. 2, “12 B – 1, 12d,” PAM, fond Zbirka gradbenih načrtov (1796–1994), b. 2, “12 B – 1, 12d.”

⁸³ Špelca Čopič, *Javni spomeniki v slovenskem kiparstvu prve polovice 20. stoletja* (Ljubljana: Moderna galerija, 2000), 148, 359; and: Globočnik, *Spomenik kralju Aleksandru*, 133–163; Damir Globočnik, *Spomeniki* (Ljubljana: Revija SRP, 2022), 480.



Figure 13: Model of the “New Axis” King Aleksandar Memorial (PAM, fond Zavod za urbanizem Maribor, b. 4).

Conclusion

Yugoslavia Square functioned as a park set between representative city buildings (Maribor Castle, the Municipal Palace, and the Maribor Real School), until 1918 centred around the Wilhelm von Tegetthoff Memorial. After the memorial's removal, the park remained empty, creating an opportunity for construction of the Orthodox Church of St. Lazarus in that very spot. Unlike Yugoslavia Square, Liberty Square had already been empty. Because the city had been expanding eastwards – with the important Aleksandar Road, today known as Partizan Road, leading to the railway station – the space created by the filling of the city's defensive ditch started gaining the function of a more relevant square, requiring a central memorial. The construction of the church, however, faced frequent protests from the citizens of Maribor, as it was planned for a park area near Maribor Castle, just behind the former city wall.

Yugoslavia Square was both physically and symbolically dominated by the Serbian Orthodox Church of St. Lazarus, built in 1936 (though never fully completed) in the Serbian national architectural style, which drew inspiration from the Raška and Morava Schools of medieval Serbian architecture. Because the state was at its largest in this very period, the connection can be understood in the context of the Great-Serbian ideal, which was still popular during the era of the "First Yugoslavia." The Church of St. Lazarus was meant to be ideologically connected to the uncompleted King Aleksandar Karađorđević Memorial on today's Liberty Square, which was to give the whole city district a clear Yugoslavian identity. It was to be one of the most modern parts of the city, with a clear aspiration to become the most monumental one.

The ideological message embedded in the architecture was echoed by political discourse at the time. The liberal and former Maribor city mayor Franjo Lipold, also the president of the Beautification Society, defended the construction of the Aleksandar Memorial, saying "the centre of our border territory must show a clear sign of liberation, for which we must be thankful to King Petar I. the Great Liberator, may he rest in peace, and the knight-king Aleksandar I. the Unifier who

crowned this work,” and that “we wish to clearly show our Maribor in its national light,” as well as that “Maribor will, with utmost dignity, manifest the great national ideals of the late king.”⁸⁴

Ban Marko Natlačen indicated the role of equestrian memorials in Dravska Banovina in his 1940 statement that the Aleksandar Memorial represented “lasting evidence of the strong will of Slovenes to live in a common country with Croats and Serbs.”⁸⁵ Maribor’s military (Orthodox) priest Petar Trbojević, attending a gathering of the Orthodox community in Maribor National House in November of 1932 to discuss the renewal of Yugoslavia Square and Liberty Square (already predicted to host a memorial of King Petar), outspokenly committed to Serbian medieval identity and the Great-Serbian ideal by stating that “there would be no Kosovo without Dečani and Gračanica.” Božo Putniković, the vice-president of the Serbian Orthodox community, also spoke of the meaning of tradition and national conscience at the same event.⁸⁶

The realisation of the Alexander Memorial was ultimately thwarted by the outbreak of World War II in Yugoslavia in April of 1941. Meanwhile, the Lazarus Church was demolished by the Nazis immediately following their occupation of Styria in a bid to erase Yugoslavian elements from Maribor. The grandiose and monumental plan for Yugoslavian appearance of both squares remained unrealised and, due to a new world war that represented a greater historical shift, gave away its space to content created by a different political system.

⁸⁴ Summarised from: Globočnik, *Spomenik kralju Aleksandru*, 136.

⁸⁵ Renata Komić Marn, “Možje na konjih. Vloga in recepcija konjeniškega spomenika na Slovenskem,” *Acta Historica Artis Slovenica* 18, no. 2 (2013): 113–114.

⁸⁶ “Pravoslavni božji hram v Mariboru,” *Mariborski večernik Jutna*, 2. 12. 1932, no. 174, 3.

B i b l i o g r a p h y

Pokrajinski arhiv Maribor [Maribor Regional Archive] (PAM):

- PAM/1758, fond Dev Saša (1908–1942) [Dev Saša (1908–1942) personal fonds].
- PAM/18, fond Posamezne nerazvrščene fotografije Maribor [fonds of Single unclassified photos Maribor].
- PAM/X1702, fond Digitalizati arhivskega gradiva iz Zbirke albumov fotografij in razglednic v Pokrajinskem arhivu Maribor [fonds Digitisation of archival material from the Collection of Photograph Albums and Postcards in the Maribor Regional Archives].
- PAM, fond Mestna občina Maribor [fonds of Municipality of Maribor].
- PAM, fond Zavod za urbanizem Maribor [fonds of Maribor Urban Planning Institute].
- PAM, fond Zbirka gradbenih načrtov (1796–1994) [fonds Collection of building plans].

Muzej narodne osvoboditve Maribor [Museum of National Liberation Maribor] (MNOMb):

- Fototeka MNOMb [Photo library of MNOMb].

Bernik, Valerija. "General Rudolf Maister v vojaških dogodkih na območju Maribora in slovenskega Štajerskega v letih 1918 in 1919." *Vojaška zgodovina* 15, no. 2 (2019): 23–54.

Clegg, Elisabeth. *Art, Design and Architecture in Central Europe 1890-1920*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.

Codol, Jean-Paul. »Social differentiation and non-differentiation." In *The Social Dimension, European Developments in Social Psychology, Volume 2*, edited by Henri Tajfel, 314–337. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Curk, Jože. *Vodnik po Mariboru in bližnji okolici*. Maribor: Umetniški kabinet Primož Premzl, 2000.

Curk, Jože, and Premzl, Primož. *Mariborske vedute*. Maribor: Umetniški kabinet Primož Premzl, 2004.

Cvelfar, Bojan. *Srbska pravoslavna cerkev na Slovenskem med svetovnima vojnama*. Ljubljana: Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino, 2017.

Čopič, Špelca. *Javni spomeniki v slovenskem kiparstvu prve polovice 20. stoletja*. Ljubljana: Moderna galerija, 2000.

Čurčić, Slobodan. *Architecture in the Balkans. From Diocletian to Süleyman the Magnificent*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.

Ferlež, Jerneja, ed. *Deutsche und Maribor. Ein Jahrhundert der Wenden 1846–1946*. Maribor: Umetniški kabinet Primož Premzl, 2012.

Fras, Maksimiljan. *Mariborski župan dr. Alojzij Juhan in njegov čas*. Maribor: EPOS, 2013.

Friedrich, Carl Joachim, and Brzezinski, Zbigniew. *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1961.

Goldsteen Joel, and Elliot Cecil. *Designing America: Creating Urban Identity*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1994.

Gostenčnik, Nina. *Delovanje mariborskega mestnega sveta med letoma 1929 in 1935*. Maribor: Filozofska fakulteta Univerze v Mariboru, 2016.

Gostenčnik, Nina. *Maribor v času mestnega načelnika dr. Franja Lipolda (1931-1935)*. Maribor: Založba Pivec, 2019.

Globočnik, Damir. »Spomenik kralju Aleksandru I. v Mariboru.« *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje* 90=n. v. 55, no. 3-4 (2019): 133–163.

Globočnik, Damir. *Spomeniki*. Ljubljana: Revija SRP, 2022.

Grafenauer, Bogo. "Narodnostno stanje in slovensko-nemška etnična meja na Štajerskem kot dejavnik osvoboditve severovzhodne Slovenije 1918/1919." *Zgodovinski časopis* 33 (1979): 385–405.

Halbwachs, Maurice. *Kolektivni spomin*. Ljubljana: Studia Humanitatis, 2001.

Hnídková, Vendula. *Národní styl: Kultura a politika/National style: Arts and politics*. Prague: Academy of Arts, Architecture and Design, 2013.

Hribernik Miro. *Vojna na Hrvaškem 1990-1995*. Maribor: Filozofska fakulteta Univerze v Mariboru, 2013.

Ignjatović, Aleksandar. *Jugoslovenstvo u arhitekturi 1904-1941*. Beograd: Građevinska knjiga, 2007.

Ignjatović, Aleksandar. "National Unity through Regional Diversity: Architecture as Political Reform in Yugoslavia, 1929-1941." In *European Architectural History Network*, edited by Hilde Heynen and Janina Gosseye, 320-325. Brussels: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten & Contactforum, 2012.

In Der Maur, Gilbert. *Der Weg zur Nation. Jugoslawiens Innenpolitik 1918-1938*. Berlin-Wien-Zürich: Verlag für Wirtschaft und Kultur Payer & Co, 1938.

Kadijević, Aleksandar. *Srpski arhitekti novijeg doba: Momir Korunović*. Beograd: Muzej nauke i tehnike, 1996.

Kadijević, Aleksandar, and Stefanović, Tadija. "Expressionism and Serbian Architecture Between Two World Wars". In *On the Very Edge. Modernism and Modernity in the Arts and Architecture of Interwar Serbia (1918-1941)*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2014.

Kadijević, Aleksandar. *Vizantijsko graditeljstvo kao inspiracija srpskih neimara novijeg doba*. Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 2016.

Kadijević, Aleksandar. "Between unitarism and regionalisms Architecture in Yugoslavia (1918–1941)." In *Architecture of independence in Central Europe/ Architektura niepodległości w Europie Środkowej*, 248–274. Krakow: International cultural centre, 2018.

Кадијевић, Александар. "Између уметничке носталгије и цивилизацијске утопије: византијске реминисценције у српској архитектури 20. века," *Српска уметност III. Замишљање прошлости и перцепција средњег века у српској умјетности XVIII–XXI века*. Београд: САНУ, 2016, 169–177.

Komić Marn, Renata. "Možje na konjih. Vloga in recepcija konjeniškega spomenika na Slovenskem," *Acta Historica Aris Slovenica* 18, no. 2 (2013): 113–114.

Kramberger, Taja. "Maurice Halbwachs: kolektivna memorija ni ne spomin in ne zgodovina". *Monitor ZSA: revija za zgodovinsko, socialno in druge antropologije* 12, no. 1/2 (2010): 273–322.

Kramberger, Taja, Rotar, Drago B. "Za antropološko raziskovanje: (namesto uvoda)." *Monitor ZSA: revija za zgodovinsko, socialno in druge antropologije* 12, no. 1/2 (2010): 9–14.

Kroger, Jane. *Identity Development: Adolescence through Adulthood*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Sage, 2000.

Kuster, Janko, ed. *Spominski zbornik ob 60-letnici bojev za severno slovensko mejo 1918–1919*. Maribor, Ljubljana: Klub koroških Slovencev, Sklad Prežihovega Voranca, Zveza prostovoljcev-borcev za severno slovensko mejo 1918–1919, 1979.

Lazarini, Franci. "Cerkve, samostani, redovne hiše in sinagoge. In Igor Sapač, Franci Lazarini, *Arhitektura 19. stoletja na Slovenskem*. Ljubljana: Muzej za arhitekturo in oblikovanje, 2015.

Manević, Zoran. *Srpska arhitektura 1900–1970*. Beograd: Muzej savremene umetnosti, 1972.

Manević, Zoran. *Jučerašnje graditeljstvo*. Beograd: Zavod za planiranje grada Beograda, 1979.

Manević, Zoran. *Jugoslovenska arhitektura XX veka*. Beograd: Muzej savremene umjetnosti, 1986.

Meško, Ksaver. *Izbrana dela, IV. del*. Celje: Družba sv. Mohorja, 1959.

Mole, Vojeslav. *Umetnost južnih Slovanov*. Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1965.

Moravánszky, Ákos. *Die Architektur der Donaumonarchie*. Berlin: W. Ernst & Sohn, 1988.

Moravánszky, Ákos. *Competing Visions: Aesthetic Invention and Social Imagination in Central European Architecture, 1867–1918*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998.

Mylonas, Christos. *Serbian Orthodox Fundamentals: The Quest for an Eternal Identity*. Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2003.

Norberg-Schulz, Christian. *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture*. New York: Razzoli, 1980.

Omilanowska, Małgorzata. "Searching for a National Style in Polish Architecture at the End of the 19th and Beginning of the 20th Century." In *Art and the National Dream: The Search for Vernacular Expression in Turn-of-the-Century Design*, edited by Nicola Gordon Bowe, 99–116. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1993.

Ožinger, Anton. "Cerkvena zgodovina Maribora od konca 18. stoletja." In *Maribor skozi stoletja*. Maribor: Obzorja, 1991.

Penič, Lojze. *Boj za slovensko severno mejo 1918–1920: kratek oris bojev za slovensko severno mejo po razpadu Avstro-Ogrske*. Maribor: Muzej narodne osvoboditve Maribor, 1988.

Perovšek, Jurij. "Ustavna razprava in vprašanje državne ureditve." In *Slovenska novejša zgodovina 1848–1992: Od programa Zedinjena Slovenija do mednarodnega priznanja Republike Slovenije*, 240–244. Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino, 2005.

Perovšek, Jurij. "Značaj kraljeve diktature." In *Slovenska novejša zgodovina 1848–1992: Od programa Zedinjena Slovenija do mednarodnega priznanja Republike Slovenije*, 321–323. Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino, 2005.

Radovanović, Sašo. *Mariborske ulice*. Maribor: Kapital, 2005.

Ratej, Mateja. "Odenki politizacije Rimskokatoliške in Srbske pravoslavne cerkve pri Slovenski ljudski in Narodni radikalni stranki med svetovnima vojnama." *Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino* 48, no. 2 (2008): 35–52.

Švajncer, Janez J. *Slovenska vojska 1918–1919*. Ljubljana: Prešernova družba, 1990.

Trachtenberg, Marvin. *The Modern Architecture, Architecture. From prehistory to post-modernism. The Western Traditions*. New York: H. N. Abrams, 1986.

Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis: University Of Minnesota Press, 2001.

Ude, Lojze. *Boj za severno slovensko mejo: 1918–1919*. Maribor: Založba Obzorja, 1977.

Unknown Author. "Mariborska obč. Seja." *Slovenec*, 27. 3. 1930.

Unknown Author. "Kje bo stala pravoslavna cerkev." *Slovenec*, 12. 4. 1930.

Unknown Author. "Razgovor z g. mestnim županom." *Mariborski večernik Jutra*, 7. 5. 1932.

Unknown Author. "Anketa radi pravoslavne cerkve." *Mariborski večernik Jutra*, 4. 6. 1932.

Unknown Author. "Pravoslavni božji hram v Mariboru." *Mariborski večernik Jutra*, 2. 12. 1932.

Unknown Author. "Zavrtnjena pritožba bivšega poslanca Žebota in tovarišev proti odstopu Jugoslovanskega trga za pravoslavno cerkev." *Mariborski večernik Jutra*, 30. 1. 1934.

Unknown Author. "Mariborske vesti. Za pravoslavno cerkev." *Slovenec*, 21. 7. 1934.

Unknown Author. "Blagoslovitev temeljnega kamna za pravoslavno cerkev na Jugoslovanskem trgu." *Mariborski večernik Jutra*, 9. 8. 1934.

Unknown Author. "Pravoslavna cerkev v Mariboru." *Mariborski večernik Jutra*, 11. 8. 1934.

Unknown Author. "Slovesna blagoslovitev temeljnega kamna srbske pravoslavne cerkve." *Mariborski večernik Jutra*, 13. 8. 1934.

Unknown author. "Postavimo spomenik našemu Parmi." *Mariborski večernik Jutra*, 8. 1. 1935.

Velikonja, Marko. "Religizirani narod vs. nacionalizirana religija: verski vidiki kosovske krize." *Časopis za kritiko znanosti* 27, no. 195/196 (1999): 97–98.

Veress, Dániel. "Architecture as Nation-Building: The Search for National Styles in Habsburg Central Europe Before and After World War I." In *Empires, Nations and Private Lives: Essays on the Social and Cultural History of the Great War*, edited by Nari Shelekpayev, 1–39. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars, 2016.

Vidmar, Polona. "Lokalpatriotismus und Lokalpolitik: die Denkmäler Wilhelms von Tegetthoff, Kaiser Josefs II. sowie Erzherzog Johanns in Maribor und die Familie Reiser." *Acta historiae Artis Slovenica* 18 (2013): 68–71.

Vrišer, Sergej. "Znamenja in javni spomeniki v Mariboru do 1941." *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje* n. v. 7, no. 2 (1971): 175–195.

Vybíral, Jindřich. "National style as a construction of art history." In *The Plurality of Europe: Identities and Spaces*, edited by Winfried Eberhard and Christian Lübke, 465–474. Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2010.

Vybíral, Jindřich. "Modernism or the National Movement in Prague." In *Art Around 1900 in Central Europe: Art Centers and Provinces*, edited by Jacek Purchla, 203–209. Kraków: International Cultural Centre, 1999.

Žitko, Sonja. *Po sledeh časa: Spomeniki v Sloveniji: 1800-1914*. Ljubljana: Debora, 1996.

Žnidaršič, Marjan. *Do pekla in nazaj. Nacistična okupacija in narodnoosvobodilni boj v Mariboru 1941-1945*. Maribor: Muzej narodne osvoboditve, 1997.

Winter, Jay. "Foreword: Remembrance as a Human Right." In *Memory and Political Change*, edited by Aleida Assmann and Linda Shortt. Great Britain: CPI Antony Rowe, Chippenham and Eastbourne, 2012.